

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS OF POST-PLenary DISCUSSIONS, MAY
12, 1978 (SALT TWO 1752)

1. (ROWNY/BELETSKY-STARODUBOV, A-2178)

ADVANCE NOTIFICATION

BELETSKY ATTACKED 60-MINUTE CRITERION IN U.S.
DEFINITION OF SINGLE ICBM LAUNCH. HE SAID THAT SINCE
IT WOULD TAKE LESS THAN 60 MINUTES FOR AN ICBM LAUNCHED
FROM WITHIN SOVIET UNION TO IMPACT WITHIN ITS NATIONAL
TERRITORY, 60-MINUTE CRITERION WAS NOT WELL-FOUNDED.
HE ADDED THAT IN CONTRAST TO USSR, U.S. DID NOT LAUNCH
ICBMS WHICH IMPACTED ON ITS OWN TERRITORY. THEREFORE
U.S. WAS SEEKING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE.

2. (JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN, A-2180)

NEW TYPES

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SHCHUKIN POINTED OUT THAT SOVIET SIDE HAD MADE
POSITIVE STEPS IN DIRECTION OF U.S. POSITION, IN PARTICULAR
WITH REGARD TO NOT CHANGING TYPE OF PROPELLANT. HE
SAID SOVIET SIDE HAD NOT INTRODUCED CONCEPT OF TOTAL
IMPULSE BECAUSE THEY CONSIDERED IT REDUNDANT AND BECAUSE
IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO MEASURE--ESPECIALLY FOR
INDIVIDUAL STAGES CONSIDERING ALL TECHNICAL COMPLEXITIES.

IT WAS HARDLY REALISTIC TO DO THIS WITHIN FIVE PERCENT.
ADVANCE NOTIFICATION

SHCHUKIN CRITICIZED TONE TO U.S. PLENARY STATEMENT, COMPARING IT TO RECENT STATEMENT BY 38 REPUBLICAN SENATORS. HE COMMENTED THAT ISSUE OF PRENOTIFICATION OF LAUNCHES WITHIN NATIONAL TERRITORY MOSTLY AFFECTED SOVIET UNION SINCE U.S. LAUNCHES, AS A RULE, EXTENDED BEYOND NATIONAL TERRITORY. ALSO, HE BELIEVED IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT FOR SOVIET UNION LAUNCHES IN QUESTION WERE MOSTLY FROM TEST RANGES. SHCHUKIN COULD SEE NO REASON FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF LAUNCHES FROM DEPLOYMENT AREAS WHICH DID NOT EXTEND BEYOND NATIONAL TERRITORY. HE ALSO DID NOT SEE ANY REASON FOR U.S. SIDE TO HAVE PROPOSED DIFFERENT VALUE FOR TIME INTERVAL THAN WAS CONTAINED IN SOVIET PROPOSAL.

SHCHUKIN COMMENTED THAT THERE WAS NO MENTION OF LAUNCHES FROM DIFFERENT SITES IN SOVIET PROPOSAL. IF SUCH MENTION WAS NECESSARY THIS COULD BE DONE. HOWEVER, HE STRESSED THIS HAD NO DIRECT BEARING ON TIME INTERVAL OR QUESTION OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF LAUNCHES FROM DEPLOYMENT AREAS.

SHCHUKIN COMMENTED THAT IF U.S. HAD THOUGHTS REGARDING AN UNDERSTANDING OF MULTIPLE LAUNCHES OR SINGLE LAUNCHES
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WHICH INCLUDED LAUNCHES FROM DIFFERENT SITES, THIS COULD BE STATED SPECIFICALLY BY U.S. SIDE. HOWEVER, THE U.S. STATEMENT REPRESENTED A TOTAL REJECTION OF SOVIET POSITION THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO NOTIFY SINGLE LAUNCHES WITHIN THE NATIONAL TERRITORY FROM DEPLOYMENT AREAS, AND INTRODUCED AN INCOMPREHENSIBLE 60 MINUTES INSTEAD OF SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR 10-MINUTE INTERVAL TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN SINGLE AND MULTIPLE LAUNCHES.

SHCHUKIN SAID THAT IN ONE HOUR (3,600 SECONDS) A MISSILE COULD FLY MORE THAN HALF WAY AROUND THE EARTH. THIS WAS WHY HE DID NOT CONSIDER ONE HOUR A RATIONAL INTERVAL.

SHCHUKIN THEN VOLUNTEERED SOVIET RATIONALE FOR 10 MINUTE INTERVAL. BASIC IDEA OF SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS TO PRECLUDE CONCERN BY U.S. THAT THERE WAS MASSIVE LAUNCHING OF ICBMS WHICH COULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS FIRST STRIKE. LAUNCHES AT 10 MINUTE INTERVALS FOR FIRST STRIKE WOULD BE NONSENSICAL.

SHCHUKIN CONTINUED, NOTING THAT EARLIER SOVIET PROPOSAL SPOKE OF NOTIFICATION IN CASES WHERE A LAUNCH COULD CAUSE CONCERN FOR OTHER SIDE. CURRENT SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS

STEP IN DIRECTION OF U.S. WHAT SHCHUKIN HAD HEARD TODAY,
HOWEVER, INDICATED THAT U.S. SIDE WANTED TO BARGAIN ON
THIS QUESTION AND WASTE TIME ON AN INSIGNIFICANT ISSUE.
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